1: Karsten--187-190 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 584 (1928-29)

"The Jibaro youth generally selects his future wife while she is still a child, 5 to 10 years old. Child-betrothals even at a still earlier age, or [188] shortly after the girl is born, occur, the matter being arranged between the parents of the girl and the suitor or his parents. This custom has evidently originated in the desire of the young man or his parents to secure a wife for him in time, since there is on the whole a great demand for women in the Jibaro tribe. Such an arrangement of marriage is of course facilitated by the fact that both families are as a rule closely related, and that the suitor has a certain right to claim the girl on account of his relationship. The father of the young man may procure a wife for his son by negotiating with her parents, or the son may himself appear as a suitor. When I visited the victory-feast at Rio Chiguaza, the head of the house, a Jibaro named Shakaëma, told me that he had just procured a wife for his young son, the victor and principal person of the feast. As we shall see it is considered necessary that the victor should be married on account of the important part that his wife plays at the feast. Shakaëma told me that he had taken natéma for the purpose and seen, in the dream produced by the narcotic, the girl who would be the best wife for his son. It is more common, however, that the young man himself appears as a suitor. When visiting an Indian named Angoasha on the Rio Upano I had an opportunity to witness a proposal of marriage. Angoasha was preparing a 'tobacco feast' for one of his married daughters and some of the guests had already

arrived. Among these was a nephew of Angoasha, a young man, called Huanga. Later on it appeared that Huanga had arrived at Angoasha's house with the intention of courting his daughter, a young girl of 9 or 10 years. The proposal was made early in the morning when Angoasha was sitting at the fire, preparing his tobacco water as usual. A third person sitting by the fire and taking part in the conversation was Angoasha's son-in-law Mucuimbi. Angoasha's first answer seemed to be an absolute refusal. In the morning when I awoke I heard him emphatically repeating again and again the word tsa, tsa, tsa (No!, No!, No!), whereas the two younger men were eagerly speaking, contradicting the old man. Mucuimbi incessantly and with the same emphasis exclaimed: soásta, soásta, soásta (Give her to him! Give her to him!). It soon became clear to me that the old Angoasha was unwilling to marry his daughter to Huanga who, on the other hand, had an ally in Angoasha's son-in-law.

'You are still too young to marry', Angoasha continued, 'how can I know whether you are able to work and to feed your wife? And perhaps you will not stay in my house but leave us with your wife [189] and build another house for your family? I am old and so is my wife. We want a son-in-law who is able to work for us. Can you clear the ground and make plantations? Can you bring down birds and monkeys with your blowgun? Can you catch fish with varvasco poison?

Now a female voice mingled in the conversation. It was the mother of the girl, who from the women's quarter had listened to the dispute of the men and wished to have a word in the matter. She seemed to take her husband's part.

'You are still a child', she said, 'you are not able to work and to feed a wife. And perhaps you will treat her badly and beat her, or abandon her for the sake of some other woman.'

The conversation, which may be said to be typical, was continued in this way for a couple of hours, until at last Angoasha seemed vanquished. Besides, it seemed to be a point of etiquette that the parents should not, when treating with the suitor, yield at once or appear too anxious to have their daughter married, and their first refusal may in fact have been more apparent than real.

However this may have been, even the mother yielded at last and ended by giving her future son-in-law some well-meant motherly advice.

'Treat your wife well,' she said, 'and take care of her, and don't abandon her for the sake of some other woman. May you help her in her work, may you shoot birds of the forest for her with your blowgun and catch fish for her in the river.'

The person who seemed to have least to say in this arrangement was the young bride herself, as was natural taking into consideration that she was yet a child. Still, both in this and in other cases which came under my notice the girls betrothed appeared to

be contented with their lot. Early in the morning the young couple went out to the sand-bank on the river and remained away the whole day. This is a general custom among the Jibaros in similar cases. The fiancé now had to show the practical capability which his desired parents-in-law had questioned. He had to catch small fish with varvasco poison in the rivulet, to collect palm cabbage by felling young tarapoto palms with edible tops, and to show his dexterity in managing the blowgun. Late in the afternoon the young ones returned home, and now the fiancée in her turn had to show her ability to perform the duties of a future family mother. At a special fire in the house she prepared the food brought home, fish, game, and palm cabbage, which she thereupon ate [190] with her young fiancé. She prepared manioc-beer in a dish and brought it to him, and, likewise performing the functions of a hostess, she offered it to arriving guests, like the other women of the house.

The betrothal being thus arranged, the young girl's education for her coming duties can properly begin, and it is supervised by her future husband who continues to stay in the house as a member of the family, working like the sons and the other sons-in-law. When the girl has her first menstruation a new important epoch in her life begins. Certain minor ceremonies, which will be described later on, take place. The most important thing, however, is that from this time the preparations for the great feast begin which the Jibaros call 'the tobacco feast of the women' (Noa tsangu) and which has the character of a nuptial feast."

l: Karsten--208
116, 584, 177

(1916-18) 1935
(1928-29)

Jivaro

"The customs observed at marriage by the Indians of Canelos essentially differ from those of the Jibaros proper. The former have on this point been influenced by the mountain Indians, as is also the case with the Napo Indians, whereas the latter have kept up usages which have been followed within the Jibaro nation since times immemorial. As to the Canelos Indians, we have to remember that they are now nominally Christians and that their marriages as a rule sooner or later receive ecclesiastical confirmation. The practices described below, however, are in the main genuinely Indian and of considerable interest."

I: Karsten--208[2] (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116. 584 (1928-29)

"At Canelos it is the parents of the young marriage candidate that have to ask the parents of the girl for her hand on behalf of their son. Early in the morning, while it is still dark, they repair to the house of the girl's parents to negotiate about the matter. As is frequently the case among the Indians, the mother of the girl has just as much to say as the father when the daughter is given away in marriage, sometimes even more. Similarly the brothers and sisters of the girl must give their consent before the matter is settled. If all have given their consent, the young man is informed; he waits upon his future parents-in-law, and kisses their hands and feet, and the betrothal is sealed with a drinking-feast."

"When he begins his courtship he pays a visit to the house where the girl of his choice lives, always taking care to invent some other reason to account for his presence there or else making the visit seem quite accidental. When he enters the house, according to custom he is served mesato by each of the women in turn. When his particular woman steps up with her bowl of nijimanche for him he acts very serious and gruff. He takes the bowl roughly from her and, after drinking, returns it with the same violence. Following the chicha drinking, again according to custom, the women begin serving him food. When the woman of his choice brings him manioc or sweetpotatoes he takes it from her without looking at her, examines the food, breaks off a piece and hurls it on the ground. If there was any doubt in her mind before, this assures her that the man is in love. Generally this is all that is accomplished on the first visit.

As a rule, before his second visit, he allows an interval of 3 days to elapse, on the theory that during this time the girl will have a chance to think about him and his actions and to wonder if she created enough of an impression for him to return. His preparations for the second visit are considerably more elaborate.

First he goes to the river and calls upon Tsungi, the mythical water monster, to aid him in his affair. He sings songs especially composed for the occasion. Tsungi is supposed to exert a particular control over love affairs. In the forest he has probably already collected leaves of the plant called muspa, which he dries and from which he makes a powder. The Jivaros believe that when the otter wishes to catch fish he rubs his paws

on this plant and on his face. [110] The lover goes through the same procedure when he collects the leaves. The muspa powder is mixed with achiote and yaona, a sweet-smelling herb. This combination is then mixed with a little grease and placed in a small bamboo tube. Sometimes the preparation is purchased from the wishinu. This preparation is called semica.

On his second visit he also brings with him the fangs of an anaconda or a boa; these are supposed to bring good luck to a woman. Other little gifts as well are prepared, such as nuts, from which she can make amulets, vanilla beans, yaona plants wrapped in cotton, combs, and similar trinkets. The teeth of the manatee are supposed to be effective in fostering a love affair and are regarded particularly as being good luck charms for women.

When he enters the house on his second visit he contrives, if possible, to rub some of the semica on the palms of her hands and on her breasts. If the man had succeeded in making any sort of impression on his first visit, the woman is likely to act with more affection toward him on this occasion. She may even go so far as to encourage him by inquiring as to why he had not returned before and expressing interest in his doings. The girl's acceptance of his present is her way of indicating that she reciprocates his affection. All that now remains is for the suitor to make satisfactory purchase arrangments with her father.

There is generally a show of reluctance on the part of the girl's male relative. They

drive as good a bargain as they are able and express a real or feigned dislike of the idea of the girl leaving home. In pressing his plea the suitor usually employs a friend as spokesman and the debate that ensues is somewhat in the nature of a stereotyped ceremony. While the girl's mother theoretically has nothing to say, actually she takes an active part in the argument."

3: Simson--391 [2] (No date) 1880 Jivaro
116, 584, 562

"The wife [KS: the Canelo] selected, she is bestowed upon the happy swain by her father; and all the bridegroom is required by custom to do, either then or previously, is to clear the ground necessary for a plantain and yuca plantation. This practically almost ends his destiny so far as work and the care of his family is concerned; and on the days he has not a special fit of laziness at home or jollification in the village, such as a wedding, death, the cleaning and weeding of a plaza, the arrival of friends from or departure to the Marañon for the purchase of salt and poison, each of which occasions constitutes a drinking bout of at least three days and nights, he merely strolls into the woods to seek game, which in the neighbourhood of the villages is generally rather scarce. He consequently returns usually unladen; but if successful, upon entering the house, throws his sport with disdain to the ground and himself into the hammock, and haughtily receives the attentions of his wife and the 'chicha' proffered for his refreshment. Every time a stranger enters a house, he is barely seated before each one of the women separately offers him a calabash of chicha."

12: Rivet--607 (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 584

The young girl is never consulted in her choice of a husband. Besides, very often, they marry her off at an age when she would be incapable of having an opinion. Actually, she is sometimes promised to her future husband at the age of six years, sometimes even younger. In this case, she is brought up in his house and to his taste by his other wives, until she is old enough to be their companion in misery. On the subject of the age of marriage, there exists, at least among the tribes around Macas, a curious custom; when a daughter is born, the parents plant three or four chontaruru plants around the house, which they care for with great interest; when these palms begin to bear fruit, i.e., at the end of seven years, the child is ready to marry.

25: Vigna--43 [5] (no date) 1945 Jivaro
116, 584

During their betrothal they are usually exceedingly sparing in external manifestations or affectionate words. The presents of the lover to his sweetheart consist of necklaces of glass beads or seeds, combs, cinctures, ornaments or cloth for her dress. The lover is generally recognized by a ring made of beadwork which he wears on one or all of the fingers of his hand. Frequently, when only a few years of age, the little girl already has a future husband chosen by her parents. The latter give their daughters to relatives, friends, or to valiant youths.

28: Tessman--361-362 (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 584, 833, 595

Women are married off while they are still children, sometimes at the age of four, often before they are born, sometimes, however, at a later date. If the wife is still a child, then she will be brought up by her [362] husband, who will widen her vulva with the finger until at the age of twelve she is ready for coitus.

A Chiwaro has from one to four wives.

28: Tessman--362 (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 584, 762

A woman is never asked whether she wants to marry a man or not; in most instances she is much too young anyway. The future husband, who has selected her, arranges the thing with the father or the brother of the girl. This explains why women hang themselves when they are forced to live with a man who may treat them badly or for whom they do not care. If the girl's family agrees to the marriage, the son-in-law-to-be goes on a one-week hunting expedition and collects game, which he turns over to his parents-in-law. The latter prepare a great feast, and the bride is handed over. The husband has no other obligations. Older girls who are not yet married are never virgins, and virginity is not expected anyway.

34:Harner E-4. 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

normally consider themselves mutually obligated to defend each other's households from enemies. 606

Men strongly prefer to have two or more wives. The subsistence productivity of the household closely correlates with the number of wives possessed by a man, because the women are responsible for more of the agricultural production. Thus, a satisfactory household production of food and the important manioc beer is dependent upon polygyny. 595 592

The most common number of wives for a man to have is two, one, or three, in that order. The emphasis on polygyny, in part, reflects the fact that the ratio of adult females to adult males is approximately 2:1, largely as a consequence of the attrition of the adult male population through killing. The demand for wives nevertheless exceeds the supply, as evidenced by the common practice of "reserving" a pre-puberty girl as a future wife by giving gifts of featherwork and trade goods to her parents. Not infrequently, her future husband then takes her home with him to raise her in his house prior to the actual consummation of the marriage. The extreme nature of the demand for wives is illustrated by the fact that a man sometimes gets a pregnant woman and her husband to agree to "reserve" the unborn child for him if it should be female. Needless to say, these practices result in marriages in which the husband is often substantially older. 162 595 584 • [582]

An unmarried girl of post-puberty age is normally courted and involved in the decision to become a wife. The suitor, after he informally ascertains her willingness, sends a close male kinsman of his own generation to act as a go-between to sound out the girl's father who, in turn, consults with the girl and her mother. If the go-between reports back to the suitor that there is no opposition, then the latter goes late 584 585

34:Harner E-4. 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

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[584] noon afternoon to the house of the girl and her parents, and sleeps that night in the men's end of the house. Before dawn, he leaves the house with a blowgun and goes hunting, attempting to kill a large number of birds and monkeys in order to impress the girl's parents with his competence. When he returns, he offers the game to the girl to cook and he awaits her final decision. If she has decided to marry him, she will squat down beside the suitor when she serves the cooked food and join him in eating it. From that moment on, they are considered husband and wife and will sleep together that night.

595 The importance of wives in producing food and beer goes
594 far beyond the subsistence requirements of the household it-
273 self. Plural wives ensure a surplus production which will make
261 possible adequate entertainment of visitors from other house-
554 holds. The Jivaro place a high value on drinking beer and eating (perhaps in that order), so that one's status in a neighborhood is greatly affected by one's generosity with beer and food. No one can expect to have many friends unless he is a good host; and he cannot easily meet the requirements of good hospitality without plural wives as a labor force.

224 A man also prefers to have plural wives so that one will be
575 available to accompany him when he goes hunting while the
[462] other(s) tends the household and garden. The wife who goes with him not only handles the dog and acts as the intermediary with Nunui, but also assists him by carrying a machete and a basket of manioc and other provisions. Usually the preferred companion for such hunting trips is the youngest wife, who is least likely to be encumbered with children and therefore
595 more willing to go. The wife often looks forward to hunting
224 trips as an opportunity to have sexual intercourse in privacy,
933 away from the rest of the household. Having sexual relations
[92]

34 Harner K-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SDS Jivaro SDS

(wife) live. Often such visits last two or three weeks, during 934
which the young man will secretly rendezvous frequently with the girl in the garden or adjacent forest to engage in sexual relations. Her parents usually do not pay much attention to the affair as long as it is never mentioned or observed, although a few fathers are exceptional and may beat a daughter who is suspected of such activities simply because the young man is hanging around. Normally, if the girl be- 936
comes pregnant, her parents tell her to bring her lover to 594 •
their house to live as her husband. Then, the next time she sees him, she invites him to become her husband. She may point out that if he refuses, her father will undoubtedly beat her. It is virtually unknown for the lover, if he is single, to refuse to come live with her, in view of the scarcity of unmarried women.

While young single men are the chief philanderers, young 897
married men also commonly have a penchant for such activities. Under the guise of going hunting, they may visit the houses of other men who are also away hunting and arrange to rendezvous regularly with a wife of the absent husband in the forest near the garden. This kind of activity is so [715]
common that husbands sometimes build a special kind of *tempuash* "adulterer trap" near the garden of the suspected wife, which is so designed that a bent sapling will strike the unwanted visitor in the stomach or groin. However, this type of *tempuash*, unlike that used against mortal enemies, does not have body-penetrating bamboo spikes.

Married women reportedly respond often with less enthusiasm when approached by a would-be lover who is also married, "because they do not want to share him with other women." Thus, when a young man is visiting a distant neighborhood where he is relatively unknown, and a woman asks him if he is married, he commonly responds negatively.

When a man has a number of wives, his difficulty in pre-